2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

757 278 enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

A [262] The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

A [136]

A 164 136 So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

Diseases.—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

A 165 853 Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

A 854 754 M cm A 151

Wounds.—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

A 757 752

A 757 826 752 From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

in touch with the political leaders; and Maclean to Vorre to reconnoitre the German ammunition dumps. I prepared meanwhile to return with Davis to Mukai, but our departure was delayed by the discovery that our mules had been stolen. Towards evening, however, I managed to borrow substitutes, and, loading the wireless set and batteries on one of these, joined Smiley and Said in the small hours of 21st August. Maclean returned next day; but our hopes of rest were intercepted by the intelligence of a Partisan advance, and we moved, therefore, into the neighbourhood of Kruya. It was quite a short march but agonizing for Said, who was stricken by a sharp attack of malaria. The poor fellow, indeed, was so ill that he had to be supported in the saddle; and that evening, alarmed by his condition, we sent into Kruya for a doctor.

The city of Skanderbeg could boast of only two physicians, and the first of these declined our courier's invitation for fear of the Germans. The second, however, accepted without hesitation, saying that at his age he was afraid of no one. He was, indeed, a hundred and eight years old, but sat his horse like a young man and made light of a two hours' ride through the mountains. His drooping, tobacco-stained moustache suggested that abstinence was not the secret of his longevity; and at lunch, when he ate meat and drank wine with the rest of us, he told us that he had been married five times. The old mountaineer obviously enjoyed the adventure and told us that he was glad to be able to help the enemies of the Germans. Despite his years, the desire for revenge still smouldered in him, and he explained that the Austrians had shot two of his grandsons in the last war. He was delighted, moreover, to attend Said and recalled that, as a medical officer, he had served under one of his ancestors in the Turkish army. He had learnt his medicine in Istanbul in the seventies of the last century, and was ignorant of later developments in the art of healing. Nevertheless his potions revived Said, and he successfully relieved minor ailments in others of our party.

Meanwhile, throughout the Balkans, the revolution of events proceeded with ever-increasing momentum. On 24th

438 On the other side of the picture lie the craftsmen and shopkeepers in the towns, some Albanian, others Turkish, others Serbian. These craftsmen live off the exports from the mountains and from the other agricultural regions around them, and supply the mountaineers with their needs, including firearms and ammunition, as well as the objects previously listed.

So far the picture is simple, mountaineers on one side of the fence, townsmen on the other. A mountaineer may become a townsman, but never the reverse. At several points, however, the security of the mountains is penetrated: by the itinerant masons who build *kullas*,[1] by the *hanjis*[2] and *kiragis*[3] who handle traffic and care for travelers, and by the shopkeepers, who are themselves usually Ghegs, and who are found in the larger tribal villages, usually but one to a settlement. I can recall but one in Mirdita, none in Shoshi, while in the country villages of Dibra, Luma, and Puka, along the main roads, there were several. These men sold tea and sugar, needles and thread, cigarette papers, salt and pepper, a little candy, candles, kerosene, kerchiefs, and matches. They saved a trip to town for minor purchases.

511 With this balance of production and trade,[4] the Ghegs barely succeed in making a living. If their average income could be accurately assessed, it would be one of the lowest in Europe. The ordinary farmer has just enough clothing to cover his family. In some cases I have seen brothers with one suit between them; one had to stay indoors while the other went out. This was in Merturi. The ordinary household has just enough food to get through the year, saving the next year's seed and selling a little in the town. Many houses are the scenes of tightened belts and near starvation every spring. Since there is no knowledge of contraception, many children are born. As ideas of sanitation are also lacking, many people die, and the population is always a little greater than the threshold of tolerance. Feuds, sudden death, and emigration are necessary safety valves. Another very recent one is enlistment in the gendarmerie.

[842]
[165]

1 [See Cat. 116, pp. 14b - 15a -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, pp. 20b - 21a -- Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, pp. 20a - 20b - Analyst]
4 [See cat. 116, pp. 21a - b -- Analyst]

589 her alive. It is doubtful if this punishment has been exacted on any such person within the last few generations.

As the reader can readily see, this custom has its economic aspects. The number of hands available for men's work is increased by two, that for women's work decreased by the same number. There is a second and less dramatic reason for a girl to swear virginity: if her father has no sons to help him with his work, or if his sons are killed. Then a daughter may step into the position of a son, and the [428] situation is momentarily saved. However, since the pseudo-son will have no offspring, the line will become extinct with her death, and the property pass to the next of kin on the father's side. This custom is at variance with the usual one in comparable societies, in which the husband of the man's daughter comes to live with her parents, and is adopted as an [611] heir. So strong is the belief in the continuity of the male line that this could not be done in Ghegnia.

On my travels I encountered only 2 sworn virgins. One wore men's clothes, and appeared to be either mentally defective or at least "queer." That also was her reputation. The second wore women's clothes. She was in her early twenties, and quite attractive. Since she spent the night with a junior member of my group of horse-drivers, I formed a poor opinion of the burning-alive theory. It is quite apparent that the practice of swearing virginity is not only often economic in motivation, but also a part of the whole business of local population control, along with the entire configuration of pride, insult, and feuding.

587 Two other mechanisms help maintain the personnel of the family at the optimum numerical working level, and to prevent the isolation of separate individuals or small, uneconomic groups. One is the levirate. Classically this means that when a man dies, his widow will be married to a surviving brother [165] or next of kin if such a brother is lacking. In a country where the rate of death by violence reaches the level of 40 per cent of all male [582] deaths in some localities, and where girls are married at 14 or 15, many are widowed.

Such a widow must be cared for by the men of her husband's family, since they have paid

163 128 pressure is created. It varies from 4.2 in Mati to 6.6 in Malsia e Madhe, with the largest families on either side of the mountains, the smallest in the middle. Even the smallest are too large for the landscape to feed without a change in methods of land utilization, a change which has not yet arrived.

166 In the country near Scutari, the city will take some of the excess. In the lands east of the Black Drin, migration onto the plain used to be possible, and habitual. Cvijič has shown[2] how, along the entire Dinaric chain, there has been for centuries a steady flow of population out of the mountains. In the center of the mountains, however, such emigration is not easy. Particularly in the old days when Catholics were not welcome in Moslem territory, the mountain people had to stay at home. [628] There is only one universal, immemorial method of disposing of excess population under these circumstances. That is the method found in the Rif, in the Caucasus, in the Kafir country of Afghanistan, and in many other places—feuding. If enough males are killed off, the population remains constant.

●165 Males only are killed. A few statistics on deaths by violence are available.[3] During the period 1901–05 the ratios in a number of northern communities were Toplana, 39 per cent; Dushman, 23 per cent; Spaç, 32 per cent; Shala, 26 per cent; Orosh, 21 per cent; Nikaj, Shoshi, and Kačinari, 25 per cent each. Double these figures and one finds between 42 per cent and 64 per cent of males dying in internecine 163 warfare. As if some natural mechanism were deliberately trying to compensate for this one-sided loss, we find a sex ratio of 163 male births to every 100 females born.

Sex ratios of this magnitude have been found before in feuding countries, and in fact the ratio of male births has been shown to rise in our own country in time of war. The biological explanation[4] is that people living under conditions of warfare marry and produce children at an earlier age than they would in time of peace. Some mechanism upon which all biologists do not agree selects the sperm cells, or the fertilized eggs, in the mother's

[2] Cvijič, 1918.

[3] Nopcsa, 1925. Data compiled by the Catholic clergy.